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ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUT
ABTEILUNG TEHERAN

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DIETRICH REIMER VERLAG BERLIN

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METAMORPHOSEN IRANISCHER DENKMÄLER

(Taf. 1-5)

„Siehst du diese Frau dort, sie ist eine gewisse Charlotte Corday und das andere ist Marat, ein Mann, der sie unterhielt und den sie in ihrer Badewanne ermordete. Man muß doch sagen, daß alle diese unterhaltenen Weiber Canaillen sind“. – Hippolyte Taine läßt einen französischen Soldaten dies zu seinem Kameraden sagen, während sie auf dem römischen Kapitol vor einer Judith mit dem Haupt des Holofernes stehen! und bemerkt dazu: „es handelt sich um Geschichte so wie sie wird, wenn sie in den Gehirnen des Volkes ausgearbeitet, verunstaltet und vergrößert wird“.

beschrieben², auf der der König die Göttersymbole mit ausgestrecktem Finger verehrt³. – Die Variante des Choirilos (ap. Athenaios XII 529f): „Ich wurde König, und während ich das Licht der Sonne schaute, trank, aß und liebte ich“, spielt sicher auf die Flügelsonne des Shamash an, die meist vor dem betenden Herrscher erscheint, dem seinerseits geopfert wird (z.B. Abb. 1).

Mißinterpretationen auf Grund politischer Voreingenommenheit – oder präziser: eines neuen, politischen Mythos und des Verlustes eines älteren – wären in Menge beizubringen. Ein bekanntes Beispiel der klassischen Welt ist der Bericht über das sogenannte Grabmal des Sardapalos in Anchiale bei Tarsus und in Ninus: Letzteres trage in assyrischen Zeichen die Aufforderung: „iß, trink und vergnüge Dich; denn alles Andere ist nicht *das* wert“ – womit er das Schnalzen mit den Fingern gemeint habe, das auf der Stele dargestellt gewesen sei (Aristobulos ap. Athenaios XII 530c, mit mehreren Varianten). Wie schon Ed. Meyer gesehen hat, wird hier eine typisch neuassyrische Siegesstèle

Solche „Lesungen“ von bereits unlesbar gewordenen Inschriften sind bei den Griechen nicht selten und manchmal viel näher an der Wahr-

¹ Reise in Italien. Übers. v. E. Hardt (Diederichs 1967) 141.

² Forschungen zur alten Geschichte I (1892) 203 ff.: die Vorbilder müssen eine Stele in Ninive („schnalzend“) und ein Bild mit gefalteten Händen in Anchiale („klatschend“) gewesen sein; F. Weißbach, RE II 2 (1920) 2436 ff.

³ B. Landsberger, Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft IV=FS. B. Meissner (1929) 294 ff.; M. I. Gruber, JNES 6, 1974, 73 ff.; U. Magen, Assyrische Königsdarstellungen – Aspekte der Herrschaft=BaF IX (1986) 45 ff.: der Gestus des „*ubana tarasu*“. – Auch das auf dem Denkmal in Anchiale beschriebene „Händeklatschen“ hat E. Meyer richtig gedeutet, wenn auch mit einem zu alten Beispiel illustriert; vgl. jetzt Magen ebd. 40 ff.: „König mit verstränkten Händen“ (vor Göttern).

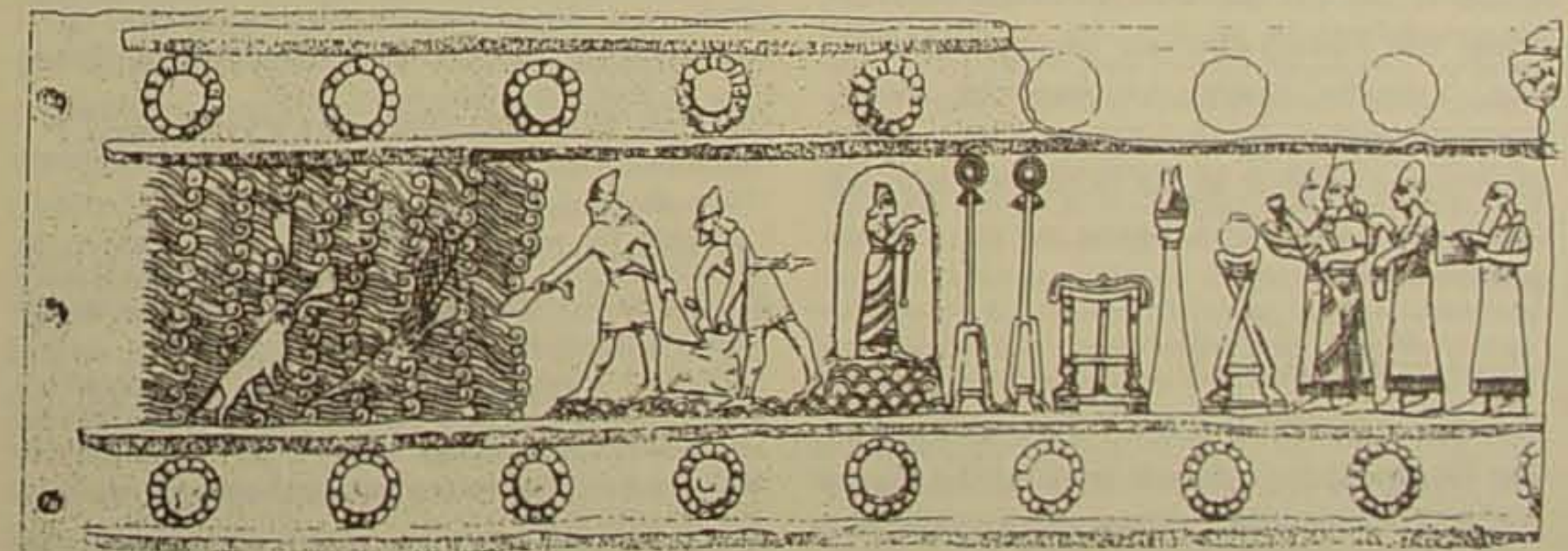


Abb. 1. Salmanassar III. mit zwei Priestern libiert vor einer Königsstèle und zwei Götterstandarten in der Nähe des Vansees (Magen³ 52 Taf. 8,1). – Von einem Bronzeband aus Balawat, Brit. Mus. – Zeichnung B. Seiß

THE FIRST PERSIAN JOURNEY OF ITTI-MARDUK-BALĀTU*

The conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus in 539 B.C. opened up vast possibilities for Babylonian businessmen who could expand into an entirely new market and reach for new sources of profits. Small wonder, the house of Egibi, at that time the wealthiest in Babylonia, showed particular interest in this market. In his study of the Egibi house, S. Weingott came to the conclusion that Itti-Marduk-balātu, head of the house, stayed in Persia at least during the first two years of Cyrus' reign, possibly even longer, since his renewed personal activity in Babylonia is not attested before Cyrus' third year (Cyr 120)¹. Similar conclusions, based additionally on a new very valuable document, have been recently reached by C. Wunsch. The document, BM 31698 + 31743 and its duplicate BM 31693, published by C. Wunsch was drafted in Borsippa on 12.10 Cyr year 0 (January 5, 538 B.C.) and it names beneficiaries in case of Itti-Marduk-balātu's death². According to the terms of his will all of his possessions, except the part destined for his two daughters, were to go to his eldest son, Marduk-nāšir-apli and his mother, Nuptaya. The document mentions two daughters: Tašmētu-tabni, married to Itti-Nabû-balātu, who was to receive two kur of field and five slaves, while the younger, Esagilabēlet, still single, one kur and three slaves. The final statement stipulates that the decision comes into effect only in case of death of the testator. C. Wunsch quite rightly connects this decision with Itti-Marduk-balātu's planned journey to Persia which undoubtedly was commonly considered dangerous. Taking this document into consideration, C. Wunsch assumes that Itti-Marduk-balātu's stay in Persia began already in Cyr year 0 (according to the Julian calendar, at the beginning of January 538), shortly after the document was written, and lasted till year 3. However, Wunsch states that

there is a difficulty in this postulate resulting from Nbn 1091³ which was written on 15.6 Cyr year 1⁴; according to the text, Itti-Marduk-balātu paid three shekels of silver to a Bāni-zēri, son of Dañian-Marduk, descendant of Sîn-šadūnu, for the urāšu-service performed instead of Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīša, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, father-in-law of Itti-Marduk-balātu. To avoid this difficulty C. Wunsch suggests that only the substitution of the receiver by someone else was recorded without any exception in the texts; however, the substitution of the payer was not necessarily recorded, i.e. Itti-Marduk-balātu could have been absent from Babylonia on the day when Nbn 1091 was written. This interpretation, however, cannot be accepted. From Camb 88 = Wunsch 265 it is evident that on 14.5 Cyr 1⁵ Iddin-Marduk was still in Babylonia because he in person paid for the urāšu-service performed instead of him by Bāni-zēri. If a month later on 15.6. Cyr 1 Bāni-zēri was paid by Itti-Marduk-balātu, Iddin-Marduk's son-in-law, it means that Iddin-Marduk asked

* If not stated otherwise the numbers of the texts used throughout this article refer to J.N. Strassmaier's "Babylonische Texte" IV (Leipzig 1889). VII (Leipzig 1890).

¹ S. Weingott, *Das Haus Egibi in neubabylonischen Rechtsurkunden* (Berlin 1939) 41.

² C. Wunsch, *Die Urkunden des babylonischen Geschäftsmannes Iddin-Marduk. Zum Handel mit Naturalien im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr., II=Cuneiform Monographs III B* (Groningen 1993) 214, (No. 260; copies in vol. IIIA 110-111).

³ Wunsch² No. 266.

⁴ And not on 18.6. as in Wunsch² 220 ("Datum") and the commentary.

⁵ The document (and its duplicates) are dated to Cambyses' "first year, King of Babylon". On the identification of the "first year of Cambyses, king of Babylon" with the first year of Cyrus, see S. Zawadzki, *Gubaru, a Governor or a Vassal King of Babylonia?*, *Eos* 71, 1987, 69ff and later J. Peat, *Cyrus "King of Lands", Cambyses "King of Babylon": The Disputed Co-Regency*, *JCS* 41, 1989, 199ff.

Itti-Marduk-balāṭu for this favor after 14.5 and before 15.6. Cyr 1, i.e. after August 2 and before September 1, 538 B.C. It is quite clear that Iddin-Marduk must have known that Itti-Marduk-balāṭu didn't plan to leave Babylon soon after him⁶. In Nbn 1091 we find one more argument to rule out the absence of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu in Babylonia at the time the document was written. We can be quite sure that Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of the šangū Ea, the scribe of the document, was the same person that accompanied Itti-Marduk-balāṭu on his journey to Persia. Since it is most improbable that Mušēzib-Marduk left Babylonia only later, i.e. after 15.6.Cyr 1, when he drafted Nbn 1091 and found Itti-Marduk-balāṭu in Persia, we have to assume that on this day they were both still present in Babylonia. It means that even if Itti-Marduk-balāṭu intended to leave for Persia shortly after making his last will on 5.10.Cyr year 0 (January 5, 538, B.C.), his intention was not carried out at least for the next couple of months.

The earliest document attesting Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's stay in Persia originates from Tahmakka⁷ from 16.12.Cyr year 1 (February 26, 537 B.C.)⁸. The document Cyr 15 drafted in Rāzu[mētānu], recognized as written on 25.2.Cyr 12, i.e. an earlier one, should be dated not to the first but to the second year of Cyrus' reign, i.e. on May 4, 537 B.C. The text should be compared with Cyr 37 dated 26.2.Cyr 2 (May 5, 537 B.C.), exactly one day later than Cyr 15. The document was written in Urāzumētānu, i.e. the same place where Cyr 15 was drafted. It is necessary to identify the two names as one⁹ in the light of the fact that in both texts – apart from Itti-Marduk-balāṭu himself – also other persons are present: Marduk-erība, son of Nabū-balassu-iqbi, descendant of Epeš-ilī (Cyr 15:9; Cyr 37:9) and Bānia, son of Adad-uballit (Cyr 15:10; Cyr 37:10). Marduk-erība accompanied Itti-Marduk-balāṭu¹⁰ also in his further journey to Asurukkanu from where Cyr 58, written on 16.6b.Cyr 2 (September 21, 537 B.C.), originates. The last known place of his stay was Media's capital, Ecbatana, where according to

Cyr 60, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu arrived at the latest on 22.6b.Cyr 2 (September 27, 537 B.C.). Upon comparing persons appearing in this document with chronologically the earliest of these texts, Cyr 29, we come to the conclusion that Itti-Marduk-balāṭu travelled in company of at least a dozen or so other members of Babylonian families. Quite certainly in his entire journey he was accompanied by Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Nabū-nāšir, descendant of šangū Ea, the scribe of the first and the last documents (Cyr 29 and 60), and probably also by the other people mentioned in any of the four documents. Taking into consideration the security reasons, it is very unlikely that anyone would have travelled alone or in a small group. Among fellow-travellers we find members of Epeš-ilī (Rīmūt-Nabū, son of Šamaš-pi'r-ušur and Marduk-erība, son of Nabū-balassu-iqbi), Nappahu (Balāṭu, son of Marduk-erība and Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Nabū-ahhē-iddin); one cannot rule out the possibility that Kalba, son of Šamšu-haddu and Nādin, son of Kalba, are actually father and son. Several families are represented by one member, like Dēkū (Bēl-iddin, son of

⁶ We can expect that in such a situation he would have made some other person, for example his wife, pay Bāni-zēri, as he did later on when he and his son-in-law were absent from Babylonia. Iddin-Marduk was already at home on 15.9.Cyr 1 (Nov. 29, 538 B.C.), i.e. before the journey of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu to Persia had started.

⁷ For the reading Tahmakka instead of Tahbakka as in Wunsch² I 80, cf. R. Zadok, On the Connections between Iran and Babylonia in the Sixth Century B.C., Iran 14, 1976, 72 n. 120.

⁸ Cyr 29.

⁹ For the similar writing with or without u before consonant at the beginning of the name, cf. mRu-ud-da-at-tū, son of mŪ-J, PBS 2/1, No 206:11 and mŪ-ru-ud-da-at, s. of Ū-he-bar-ra-a', PBS 2/1, No 173:18 L.E. Cf. also the writing of the name of the governor of Babylonia: mUn-da-par-nu BM 66810:6 (J. Oppert/J. Ménant, Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée (Paris 1877) 285–86) and mŪ-mi-in-ta-par-na-a' in the Babylonian version of the Bisitun inscription (cf. E.N. von Voigtlander, The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great Babylonian Version = Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum I (1978) 47, line 110). Cf. also I.M. Dandamaev, Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia = Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6, (1992) 103 (No 203), 136 (No 323).

¹⁰ Here his nickname Iddinnaya was used. For the identity of Iddinnaya and Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, see Weingott¹ 15.

Gimillu)¹¹, šangū Ea (Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Nabū-nāšir)¹², Gallabu (Nergal-šum-ibni), Imbušija (Tattannu, son of Mušallim-Marduk), and Gahal (Iddin-Marduk, son of Damqa). This indicates the great interest the new market enjoyed among the wealthy Babylonian families, in no way limited to the Egibis alone. However, the latter probably played the major role. Let us note that in all four documents Itti-Marduk-balāṭu is borrower. It is difficult to assume that he is the only one who in the course of the journey suffered exceptional financial losses, and for these reason urgently needed a credit¹³. Probably the opposite is true: Itti-Marduk-balāṭu sold the goods he had brought from Babylonia, and invested his total profit in purchases on Persian territory. One can suspect that the representatives of other families, not as rich as he, were afraid on the risky business on a completely unknown territory and of possible loss of goods or money on their way back home. For Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, who was a man of great possessions in Babylonia, the risk was relatively smaller; therefore, he decided to borrow money from other members of the caravan and promised to return the debt upon return to their home country¹⁴. Such a solution was satisfactory for both parties. Various terms of contracts Itti-Marduk-balāṭu made with his creditors may mean that some of them decided to put up with profit from selling their goods and avoid any further risk; others did not want to credit Itti-Marduk-balāṭu without additional profit, i.e. they were ready to risk either a journey back

with money in their pocket, or to purchase goods with it¹⁵.

and 10th (Nbn 438) year of Nabonidus, he borrows from Nabū-apla-iddin 45 kur, 16 kur 4 pi of barley, respectively, and in the latter also 35 shekels of silver. In addition, the first of the three texts mentions also an overdue loan of 50 kur of barley. In the next two documents, Nbn 760 and 761, Nabū-nāšir is a witness. Mušēzib-Marduk himself occurs for the first time in Nbn 395 issued in the ninth year of Nabonidus as scribe in service for the same Nabū-apla-iddin and next after a longer period of absence, beginning from Nbn 1091 (15.6. Cyr 1) till the end of his activity in Cambyses' third year, he is connected with Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Nabū-apla-iddin as the scribe.

¹³ This is in contradiction with a new journey shortly thereafter and journeys during the reigns of Cambyses and Bardia – cf. Zadok⁷ 72 and 77 ff. Zadok mistakenly identifies Iddina as Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's brother, while the two names refer to the same person, see above n. 10.

¹⁴ It is worth noticing how the dates for repayment of the debt changed, as this probably reflected the expected date of coming back home. Cyr 29 was written when the return date was not known at all; therefore, the parties agreed only on the interest rate, without indicating the date for repayment of the debt. Both contracts, made in the month of Aīlāru in Rāzumētānu, stipulated the return of credit in Babylon in the month of Tašritu (interestingly, both creditors released the interest of the borrowed sum). The Asurukkanu contract provided the return of borrowed money – 1 mina 20 shekels of silver – in the month of Nisannu, that is after ca. 6 months from the date of making the agreement – in this case also there is no mention about interest. Cyr 60, the last one in the series, stipulates repayment of the debt – 1 1/2 minas of silver – in the month of Arahsamnu a-ki-i māhīri (KLLAM) la TIN.TIR.KI it-ti i GIN KŪ.BABBAR 2 BĀN ZŪ.LUM.MA i-nam-din 30 bil-tu la hu-ša-bi it-ti-i i-nam-din "he will pay according to the marked price of Babylon together with 2 sutu of dates for 1 shekel of silver; in addition he will deliver 30 loads of h." This means that Itti-Marduk-balāṭu will return not the silver but its equivalent in dates according to the marked price on Arahsamnu, that is at the moment when, after the harvest, the price of dates was lowest. Additionally, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu was obliged to give for each shekel of silver, two sutu of dates and 30 loads of hušabi. The information about the return of debt in the month of Arahsamnu may signal either return home before the end of this month or only that the parties agreed that the creditor would get the quantity of dates which one can buy with one and a half minas in Babylon in Arahsamnu, independent of the date of return to the country.

¹⁵ We do not know how during the journey Itti-Marduk-balāṭu spend his own money and money borrowed from his companions. In the light of the documents drafted during his later journeys to Humadešu, from the 4th to 7th year of Cambyses' reign, he bought slaves, some of them of Babylonian origin (cf. Zadok, Iran, 1976, 67, 68 Nos. 1–3, 5–7). We should remember, however, that in case of buying and selling of goods, no written contracts were made – just like nowadays.

¹¹ He and his brother, Nabū-nāšir, occur earlier in the circle of people connected with Iddin-Marduk, see Wunsch², No 209 dated 25.1. Nbn 13.

¹² His family has long been connected by numerous links with the Egibis. Ina-esagila-zēri, grandfather, son by Bēl-šunu, occurs as early as Nebuchadnezzar's year 7 and 8 as a witness in Nbk 55 and 72 where one party is Kudurru, son of Iqīša, descendant of Egibi. Better documented are links of Mušēzib-Marduk's father, Nabū-nāšir. For the first time he appears in one and the same document alongside his father, but he is the scribe of this text (Nbk 72). Later we can observe his close links with the main branch of the Egibis, namely with Nabū-ahhē-iddin, son of Šula. In three contracts written in 8th (Nbn 286), 9th (Nbn 395),

If my suggestion to identify Rāzu[mētānu] with Urāzumētānu is correct, the itinerary of the journey can be reconstructed on this basis. The first well-known site was the settlement of Tahmakka, probably located in a relatively short distance from the Babylonian border. Some two months later the travellers reached Rāzumētānu¹⁶. Almost five months later Itti-Marduk-balāṭu and his fellow-travellers were in Asurukānu¹⁷, a settlement no more than 6 days distant from Ecbatana. The long time which passed from their presence in Tahmakka to their arrival in Ecbatana (almost exactly 7 months) seems to indicate that the journey was interrupted many times with longer stays in the places we know or some other of which we do not know. To sum up: the documents available now attest Itti-

Marduk-balāṭu's stay in Persia from February 26 to September 27, 537. To the latter date we must add at least a few weeks which were necessary for a journey from Ecbatana back to Babylon.

¹⁶ "The abode of the boars" according to the etymology suggested by Zadok⁷ 72.
¹⁷ "Tusk-whitish" according to the etymology of I. Gershevitch, see Zadok⁷ 72 n. 123.

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BARDIYA, DARIUS AND BABYLONIAN USURPERS IN THE LIGHT OF THE BISITUN INSCRIPTION AND BABYLONIAN SOURCES*

The events which took place in Persia and Babylonia between the end of the Babylonian (and Persian) year 523 (according to our calendar from Spring 522 B.C.) and the end of the eighth month of 521 (which in our calendar corresponds to November) form probably the most vivid sequence of events in the history of the Persian Empire. Before proceeding to a detailed analysis, we shall recall the most important facts in the way they are presented in contemporary sources, especially in the famous Bisitun inscription, despite various reservations as to the value of the chronological data it contains. It recounts how Cambyses, before starting the campaign against Egypt, gave the command to murder his brother Bardiya, and simultaneously ordered this to be kept strictly secret. While Cambyses was staying in Egypt, in Persia a revolt broke out under the leadership of a certain Gaumata. The leader claimed to be Bardiya, Cambyses' late brother. The revolt started on the 14th of Addaru (XII), i.e. March 11, 522, and on the 9th of Du'uzu (July 1) the whole empire was already subjected to Gaumata's rule. The accidental death of Cambyses in Syria created favourable circumstances for Gaumata to remain on the throne which he had gained unlawfully. "There was no one – not a Persian, not a Mede, not a Babylonian, no one in the (other) lands, not a man of our line – who would take the kingship from Gaumata, the Magush. The people were in great fear of him. He was killing many people who had known Bardiya previously". The deposing of the "false king" was carried into effect only after Darius and his comrades took things into their own hands. They hatched a plot which led to the killing of Gaumata on the 10th of Tashritu (September 29), 522. The overthrow of Bardiya/Smerdis resulted in a series of rebellions against Darius;

as he himself stated, it took him just one year to suppress them. The course of these fights is related in a tri-lingual inscription on the rock of Bisitun, with the central section of the monument occupied by the relief measuring 3 by 5.5 m, presenting Darius with two of his closest courtiers behind his back, and in front of him depicting the original nine, and later ten defeated rebel kings. A little to the right of Darius' head there is a figure of Ahuramazda soaring in the air and blessing the king. Almost exactly over the head there is a ten line Elamite text containing Darius' genealogy. The figures of the vanquished rebel kings are accompanied by the so-called additions in all the three languages which enable us to identify them.

Scholars disagree in their opinion concerning Gaumata. The first group of scholars, to which belong R. Frye² and J. Wiesehöfer³, fully accept the accounts of Herodotus and Bisitun and treat

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Additional Abbreviations: AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures; RGTC 8 = R. Zadok, Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts = Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (Wiesbaden 1983); YOS XVII = D.B. Weisberg, Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar = Yale Oriental Series XVII (1980).

¹ E. von Voigtlander, The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great. Babylonian Version II: The Babylonian Versions of the Achaemenian Inscriptions = Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum I (1978) 31.

² R. Frye, The History of Ancient Iran (München 1984) 99.

³ J. Wiesehöfer, Der Aufstand Gaumatas und die Anfänge Darios' I. (1978) 66–73.